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THE UKRAINIAN FRANCOPHONE PRESS IN FRANCE (1919-1921)

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INTRODUCTION

A contemporary European integration of Ukraine in the early XXI century makes relevant the retrospective legacy of the Ukrainian–European dialogue. Specifically, it's interesting to study the contacts, relations, communications and cooperation of Ukrainian and French statesmen, politicians, diplomats, economists, intellectuals, artists, journalists and so on. The relevant period is an early XX century, i. e., the period of the Ukrainian national liberation movement / the Ukrainian Revolution¹ (1917-1921). Important (often unique and indispensable) records / sources on this subject are the Ukrainian periodicals published in Roman-Germanic languages of Europe. These media enable us to track and analyse the formation and development of the transnational collaboration and communication between Ukraine and West Europe, in particular France, in various areas. A thorough research of these sources also allows us to evaluate the impact of the media coverage of Ukraine-related topics in the French language.

A relevance of this research subject was reflected in the interest of Ukrainian and foreign researchers to the French-language publications of foreign Ucrainica records – both periodical and non-periodical. Among main studies in this field are bibliography guides of the Ukrainian émigrés in Canada – Ye. Pelenskyi²,

* Ces recherches, le travail de terrain et la redécouverte des périodiques français dans les fonds des archives et bibliothèques françaises ont été réalisés sous les auspices de la Fondation Maison des sciences de l'Homme (Paris), dans le cadre du soutien à la mobilité doctorale par le gouvernements français des jeunes chercheurs d'Ukraine en 2015. Je tiens à exprimer ma profonde gratitude au Directeur de la Fondation – Dr. Marta Craveri, responsable du projet – Marion Fanjat et le gouvernement français pour la gestion et le financement de mon séjour de recherche à court terme. Leur aide, leur assistance dans la réalisation de ce projet de recherche sont grandement reconnus ici.

1. Cf. classical studies on this subject: J. S. Reshetar, *The Ukrainian Revolution: A study in Nationalism*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1952 and T. Huczak (ed.), *The Ukraine, 1917-1921: A Study in Revolution*, Cambridge, Harvard university press, 1977.

2. Ye. Pelenskyi, *Бібліографія української бібліографії. Ucrainica в західно-європейських мовах: вибрана бібліографія*, Edmonton, 1990, 112 p.

J. S. Jaworsky and O. S. A. Szkabarnicki³ and in France – J. Chevchenko⁴. This bibliography was supplemented and contextualized by the historical studies of the French historians, in particular S. de Gasquet⁵; the Ukrainian researchers of the French-Ukrainian relations – E. Borschak⁶, G. Cvengroš⁷ and W. Kosyk⁸, the monograph about the cultural work of the Ukrainian émigrés by S. Narizhnyi⁹; the press studies works of the Ukrainian media history researchers – A. Zhyvotko¹⁰ and O. Deneka¹¹; encyclopedic entries of A. Zhukovsky¹², and V. Markus¹³ in the 5-volume English-language *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*. However, these reference literature and bibliography guides contain fragmentary references, records about the French-language periodicals published by Ukrainians.

Unfortunately, the above-minded Ukrainian bibliographers and press history researchers often commit numerous inaccuracies, mistakes and gaps. This aspect was well studied in the paper dedicated to the study of the Ukrainian franco-phone press of Europe of the Ukrainian national liberation movement¹⁴. The main reason for these mistakes, in particular in case of periodicals, was the lack of access of domestic Ukrainian researchers to the full sets of the press.

Research methodology, approach and objectives

In the process of our research carried out in the holdings of the Ukrainian, American and mainly French libraries and archives during 2012-2015 time

3. Cf. J. S. Jaworsky, O. S. A. Szkabarnicki, *The Batchinsky Collection Carleton University Library: Finding Aid*, J. Palin (ed.), Edmonton, The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1995, 101 p.

4. Cf. J. Chevchenko, *Ukraine: bibliographie des ouvrages en français XVII^e – XX^e siècles*, préface de W. Kosyk, Paris, Publications de l'Est européen, 2000, 219 p.

5. Cf. S. Gasquet (de), *la France et les mouvements nationaux ukrainiens (1917-1927)*: maîtrise d'histoire [Aux droits de manuscrit. Deposited in the holdings of BUSP], Paris, 1993-1994, 183 p.; and also his contribution to G.-H. Soutou, G. de Castelbajac et S. de Gasquet, « La France et les mouvements nationaux ukrainiens », *Recherches sur la France et le problème des Nationalités pendant la Première Guerre mondiale (Pologne, Ukraine, Lithuanie)*, Paris, 1995, p. 105-210.

6. Cf. E. Borschak, *l'Ukraine dans la littérature de l'Europe occidentale*, Dijon, 1935, 202 p.; Id., *l'Ukraine a la conférence de la paix, 1919-1923*, Dijon, 1938, 188 p.

7. Cf. G. Cvengroš, *la République démocratique ukrainienne – la République française (1917-1922)*, Lviv, Kameniar, 1995, 419 p.

8. W. Kosyk, *la Politique de la France a l'égard de l'Ukraine: mars 1917-février 1918*, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 1981, 304 p.

9. Cf. S. Narizhnyi, *Українська еміграція: культурна праця української еміграції 1919-1939*, (матеріали, зібрані С. Наріжним до частини другої), Kyiv [The Olena Teliha Publishing House], 1999, 270 p.

10. A. Zhyvotko, *Історія української преси*, Munich, Ukrainisches Technisch-Wirtschaftliches Institut 1989-1990, 334 p.

11. O. Deneka, *Українська еміграційна преса у Франції 20–30-х рр. XX ст.: становлення, розвиток, проблематика* [A thesis submitted for obtaining the scholarly degree of Cand. of Sciences in Philology. On the rights of manuscript], Lviv, 2006.

12. A. Zhukovsky, "Paris", *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Vol. III, D. H. Struk (ed.), Toronto – Buffalo – London, University of Toronto Press, 1993, p. 776-778; Id., "France", *Encyclopedia of Ukraine...*, Vol. I, 1984, p. 929-936.

13. V. Markus, "Press and information bureaus abroad", *Encyclopedia of Ukraine...*, Vol. IV, 1993, p. 213-215.

14. S. Blavatsky, "Українська франкомовна періодика Європи доби національно-визвольних змагань (1917-1921 рр.): ідентифікація, систематизація, хронологізація", *Збірник праць Науково-дослідного інституту пресознавства*, Lviv, LNNBU ім. V. Stefánika, 2013, 3 (21), p. 88-119.

period, the complex of the Ukrainian French-languages press in France of the stated period has been identified. This was accomplished through a comprehensive and systematic study of the foreign-language bibliography (bibliographical heuristics) and scholarly reference sources as well as OPAC (e-catalogue) distance analysis and field research in the holdings of these institutions.

The paper **aims** to make a comparative study of the stated press in the discourse of French–Ukrainians information-propagandist activities of the in France. The **objectives** of the study are:

- to identify a complex of the Ukrainian French-language periodicals in France in 1919-1921 yrs;
- to systematize the press in question;
- to classify the identified periodicals according to the types of the print media, their political and ideological affiliation;
- to determine their editorial policy, dominants and determinants of their content.

The **scientific novelty** of the research lies in the following. A complex of the Ukrainian French-language periodicals published during the Paris Peace Conference and the Ukrainian national liberation movement period (1917-1921) in France will be identified, systematized, studied and classified in the journalism studies, socio-cultural discourses for the first time. Thus, in this study we propose such a typology of the Ukrainian francophone press in France: “the Ukrainian-centric press” (*Bulletin d’informations du Bureau ukrainien de presse à Paris*, Paris, 1919-1920; *France et Ukraine*, Paris, 1920), “the Ukrainian print media of international appeal” (*L’Europe Orientale*, Paris, 1919-1920), “the Ukrainian Russophile periodicals” (*Les Russes des Carpathes*, Paris, 1919; *Bulletin du Comité National Ukrainien à Paris*, Paris, 1920; *La Jeune Ukraine*, 1920-1921).

THE UKRAINIAN INFORMATION AND PROPAGANDIST CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE: A GENESIS

The Ukrainian press publishing activities in the III French Republic, specifically in 1919-1921 yrs, was a new stage in the Ukrainian journalism and press history. There functioned “Cercle des Oukrainsiens à Paris”¹⁵ in Paris during 1908-1914 yrs. However, it didn’t publish any periodicals. Information and propagandist activities of this organization and its information bureau consisted in publishing popular brochures with information about the Ukrainian question on the eve of the WWI¹⁶. The prominent figures of this circle – Ya. Fedorchuk and Ye. Bachinsky – regularly published relevant articles regarding Ukrainian

15. Zhukovsky, “Paris”, op. cit.

16. E.g. Ya. Fedorchuk’s « Le réveil national des Ukrainiens », Bureaux du Cercle des Ukrainiens, Paris, 1912.

problems in the Parisian press (e.g., *Le Courrier Européen*¹⁷ and *Les Annales des Nationalités* (Paris – Lausanne, 1912-1918) – the latter was the print organ of the “Office Central des Nationalités” headed by J. Péllissier¹⁸). In this context, it is worth mentioning information and propaganda activities of the above-minded organization¹⁹. They aimed at the justification of the right to national self-determination of the non-state peoples/nations of Europe and their subsequent liberation in the form of independent nation states. Jean Pelissier and other members of this organization (specifically, the Frenchman Charles Seignobos²⁰) were the only ones in France at that period, who were interested in the Ukrainian cause, supported it and gave prominence to it in numerous publications on the pages of the *Annales des Nationalités*²¹.

In 1918 “Cercle d’études franco-ukrainiennes” (the French-Ukrainian civil organization) and namely its chief – F. Savtchenko published several informative brochures and leaflets popularizing the Ukrainian cause in France²².

***Bulletin d’informations du Bureau ukrainien de presse à Paris* (Paris, 1919-1920): the first Ukrainian press publication in France**

A pioneering place in the Ukrainian press publishing campaign in Paris was the French-language information bulletin of the Ukrainian Press Bureau of the Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission of the Ukrainian People’s Republic (UNR) in Paris – *Bulletin d’informations du Bureau ukrainien de presse à Paris* (Paris,

17. *Le Courrier européen* was an influential international sociopolitical weekly, founded in Paris in 1904. In the 1900s it was the prominent champion of the rights of the oppressed non-state nations of Europe, specifically, Ukrainians. In particular, in 1906 Bjørnson Bjørnstjerne published in *Le Courrier européen* the article “Ruthenians”, which caused big resonance in West European public sphere.

18. Jean Péllissier (1883-1939) was a renowned French journalist, diplomat, intellectual, editor and a sociopolitical figure, who was particularly engaged in the struggle for the liberation of the non-state oppressed nationalities/peoples of Europe in the early 20th century. Specifically, he advocated the right to national self-determination of Ukrainians and later (especially during the Paris Peace Conference (1919-1920), promoted international recognition of the independent Ukrainian state (UNR) on the part of France. See W. Kosyk, “Jean Péllissier et son séjour en Ukraine” (Autobiographic notice) In: J. Péllissier, *la Tragédie ukrainienne*, Paris, Bibliothèque ukrainienne Symon Petlura, 1988, p. 19-30 and manuscript of his autobiography “Le Journal” held at the holdings of BUSP entitled *Ma vie douloureuse, trahie et fervente* [On the rights of the manuscript, 6000 p.].

19. It was also alternatively called Bureau des nationalités or l’Union des nationalités. Cf. G.-H. Soutou. “Les grandes puissances et la question des nationalités en Europe centrale et orientale pendant et après la Première Guerre mondiale : actualité du passé ?” In: *Politique étrangère*, n° 3, Paris, 1993, 58^e année, p. 697-711; Id., “Jean Péllissier et l’Office central des nationalités, 1911-1918 : renseignement et influence”, *Relations internationales*, Paris, 1994, 78, p. 153-174 ;Id. (dir.), “Jean Péllissier et l’Office central des nationalités, 1911-1918 : un agent du gouvernement français auprès des Nationalités”, *Recherches sur la France et le problème des Nationalités...*, p. 11-38; and D. R. Watson “Jean Péllissier and the Office Central des Nationalités, 1912-1919”, *English Historical Review*, London, 1995, p. 1191-1206.

20. Christophe Charle, “Charles Seignobos, historien pacifiste et européen. Les aspects méconnus d’un professeur à la Sorbonne”, *Revue de la BnF*, 2009/2 (n° 32), p. 18-29.

21. In 1913 this publication ran a special issue devoted exclusively to the Ukrainian cause: *les Annales des Nationalités : bulletin de l’Union des Nationalités*, Paris, 1913, n° 3/4, Mars/Avr., 200 p.

22. E. g. Th. Savtchenko, *l’Ukraine et la question Ukrainienne*, Paris, édition du Cercle d’études franco-ukrainiennes, 1918; *le Droit de l’Ukraine*, Paris, imprimerie polyglotte Hugonis, 1918; *Esquisse d’une bibliographie ukrainienne*, Paris, 1918.

1919-1920). The first issue of this print medium appeared on the March 4th 1919, and the date of the last available number (n° 110/111) is the 12 June 1920²³.

The key, leading role in appearance of the bulletin played F. Y. Savchenko (alternative transliteration of its name in the French documentary sources – Th. Savtchenko)²⁴. He was both an editor-in-chief of the information bulletin²⁵ and a head of the Bureau Ukrainien de la Presse à Paris (the Ukrainian Press Bureau in Paris)²⁶. The managing editors of the periodical were Frenchmen – J.-E. Durand and M. Outin. In this context it's worth mentioning that the structure of the Ukrainian Press Bureau in Paris was international – it comprised both the Ukrainian and French coworkers.

From the very beginning the press publishing activities of the Ukrainian Press Bureau in Paris received obstructionism²⁷ from a part of the French administration [here and further – our own translation]:

Almost nowhere in Europe the “stage” was so unfavorable for the activities of the Ukrainian Press Bureau as in France. It was a consequence of purely political circumstances... A harmful activity of the Russian and Polish organs, which conducted fierce Ukrainophobic agitation, was also a factor²⁸.

Consequently, the first issues of the bulletin were censored by the respective French bodies in Paris, presumably by the “Maison de la Presse”²⁹. In the first

23. Availability: The Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv: 1919, n° 1, 2, 8-91, 1920, n° 95, 96, 100-103, 105-109, 110-111; BnF: 1919, n° 1-4, 6-91; BDIC: 1919, n° 1-4, 6-91; 1920, n° 94, 107; BULAC: 1919, n° 1-4, 6-91; Centre des Archives diplomatiques du ministère des Affaires étrangères La Courneuve: 1919, n° 9, 11-14, 16-26, 34, 38, 43, 51-56, 58-59, 61-70, 73-75, 78-84, 86-89, 91; BUSP: 1919, n° 28-32, 34-40, 42-62, 66-75, 77-91.

24. Zhukovsky A., Fedir Savchenko (Savtchenko Theodore) b 1892 in the Poltava region, died [?] in 1938 Historian; a member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society from 1927. After graduating from the Nizhen Institute of History and Philology he continued studying history, sociology, ethnology, and Romance philology in Paris (from 1914) and became a professor of Russian at the École supérieure de commerce et d'industrie de Paris. In 1918, with E. Denis and A. Thomas, he founded the Cercle d'études franco-ukrainiens and edited its organ *La France et l'Ukraine*. He also wrote a number of pamphlets, including *l'Ukraine et la question ukrainienne* (1918). In 1919 Savchenko was in charge of the UNR press bureau at the Paris Peace Conference. See more on this subject: Zhukovsky A. Savchenko Fedir. in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Vol. IV, p. 541.

25. Zhukovsky, “Paris”, op. cit.

26. Borschak, *l'Ukraine dans la littérature de l'Europe occidentale*, p. 125-126.

27. This obstructionism of the French censor authorities of the Ukrainian press publishing activities in the France dated back to the developments of the WWI. E.g. W. Kosyk in his francophone studies argued that the French censors obstructed distribution of the Ukrainian press publications, e.g., *Bulletin d'information* (Lausanne, 1917) in France – See more on this subject: Kosyk W. Ibid, p. 47. Moreover, in 1916 the French government prohibited the distribution in France of the magazine *La Revue ukrainienne* – the periodical published in Lausanne by the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine. See e.g. Zhukovsky, “France”, 1984, p. 931. Similar attitude was practiced by the French officials regarding another Ukrainian French-language press publication – the newspaper *l'Ukraine* (Lausanne, 1915-1921). This was made by France (The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Quai d'Orsay) and Maison de la Presse) intentionally – in order that not to antagonize its Russian ally in Entente. Moreover, after the conclusion the separate peace treaty in Brest-Litovsk between the UNR and representatives of the Central Powers in February 1918 the French authorities, press and public were hostile towards the international recognition of the UNR state and sovereignty de jure.

28. “Diyalnist” Ukrayinskoho presovoho biuro v Paryzhi”, *Bulletin d'informations du Bureau ukrainien de presse*, Paris, 1920, n° 101, p. 1.

29. Gasquet (de), *Recherches sur la France...*, p. 192.

issue three articles out of six were censored and one article in n° 3³⁰. The white lacunas in the first issues of the periodical with the mention “Supprimé par la censure” [“Exempted by the censorship”] affirm the facts of the censorship. The fifth issue of the bulletin was completely exempted from the circulation by the French censors, which was mentioned by the editors in the next sixth number³¹. In opinion of S. de Gasquet, it’s probably the French official Darras who initiated that obstructionist approach. In March 1919 he informed the French government and the French army HQ in Odessa that “Ukrainians came to found in Paris secret intelligence service under the title ‘Bureau Ukrainien de Presse’”³².

The aim of this “information weekly” (which appeared subsequently as semi-weekly and three times a week in late 1919) was in publishing relevant and comprehensive information about developments in Ukraine. The target audience was the representatives of diplomatic corps of countries participating at the Paris Peace Conference, political establishment of France and press agents. The digest of “the French, English and in general foreign press about the Ukrainian matters, activities of the Delegation of the UNR³³ and articles about Ukraine” was presented in the periodical. Afterwards, an agreement with the main French wire services (Agence France Presse, Havas, Paris–Telegrammes) concerning reprints of the original editorial content of the periodical was struck³⁴.

Diplomatic documents of the government of the UNR, dedicated to the course of Paris Peace Conference 1919-1920 yrs and official documents of the Directorate (of the Ukrainian National Republic) were also published in the bulletin. In this regard, this print medium was not just a mirror of diplomatic work of the Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission of the UNR at the Paris Peace Conference, but also a factor, leverage of influence in the mediatized discourse of its conference proceedings.

An important part of the editorial policy of the bulletin was an aspect of counterpropaganda. As V. Markus indicated, “particularly comprehensive press and information activities were conducted by the UNR and ZUNR delegations at the Paris Peace Conference, to countervail the Polish and Russian émigré lobbies there”³⁵.

30. The articles about relationship between the UNR (the Ukrainian National Republic) and France, in particular a participation of the French expeditionary military forces in a civil war in Ukraine (Odessa) at the beginning of 1919 were exempted by the Parisian censors. In this context it’s interesting and relevant to compare that the French-language press in Odessa (early 1919) received the most favorable treatment under the regime of “the French protectorate” (1918-1919), unlike Ukrainian press of Odessa, which was censored by the French censors.

31. Remarque de la Direction, *Bulletin d’informations du Bureau ukrainien de presse*, Paris, 1919, n° 6, p. 1.

32. AMAE [Archives du ministère des Affaires étrangères], vol. 682, f. 47, cited by S. de Gasquet in *Recherches sur la France...*, p. 192.

33. I. e. The Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission of the UNR at the Paris Peace Conference (Paris, 1919-1920).

34. Ibid., “Diyalnist’ Ukrayinskoho presovoho biuro v Paryzhi.”

35. Ibid., Markus, “Press and information bureaus abroad”, op. cit, p. 214.

In fact, the Polish³⁶ and Russian³⁷ émigré lobbies organized and orchestrated a massive information and propagandist campaign against the newly independent Ukrainian state – the UNR – and specifically its attempts to gain and secure international recognition de jure by the Entente Powers at the Paris Peace Conference.

The editors of the *Bulletin d'informations* not only selected articles favorable to the Ukrainian cause. The researchers can also find in the content of the bulletin publications hostile to Ukraine, its independence and international (in particular, on the part of France) recognition claims³⁸. One of the most important aspects in the counter-propaganda activities of the bulletin was debunking statements, allegations in the West European (in particular, French) press about the complex interethnic relations in Ukraine, in particular the Jewish pogroms³⁹ on the Ukrainian territories in 1919-1920 yrs⁴⁰. The Jewish question was treated by the Ukrainian Press Bureau staff as a litmus test for Ukrainian authorities in securing Western (in particular, Entente Powers) support of international recognition of independence and state sovereignty of the UNR. In this context, reprints and digest of interviews with eminent Ukrainian political figures (in particular, of the Jewish origin (e.g., A. Margolin⁴¹) concerning the matter in question have been featured there. However, these press publications concerning

36. See more on this subject K. Lundgreen-Nielsen, *The Polish Problem at the Paris Peace Conference: A Study of the Great Powers and the Poles, 1918-1919*, Odense, Odense university press, 1979.

37. The Russian émigrés pursued their own massive information and propagandist activities, specifically, press publishing campaign in Paris. E.g., the adepts of the Russian White Movement published the French-Russian newspaper *Obschee Dielo = La Cause Commune* in Paris (1918-1922, 1928-1934). In 1919-1920s this newspaper frequently engaged in polemics with the advocates of the UNR and ostracized the work of the UNR Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission at the Paris Peace Conference.

38. Gasquet (de), *la France et les mouvements nationaux ukrainiens (1917-1927)*, p. 74.

39. Anti-Jewish pogroms were widespread in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution 1917 and particularly during the Russian Civil War and the Ukrainian national liberation movement (1917-1921s) on the Ukrainian territories. See more on this subject "Pogroms" in J. Smele, *Historical Dictionary of the Russian Civil Wars, 1916-1926*, Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield, 2015: p. 877: "Historiographically, however, greater attention has been paid to the still very contentious subject of the alleged complicity of the Ukrainian authorities in pogroms [i.e. in 1919] and the alleged guilt of S. V. Petliura..." and "Hryhoriiv uprising", p. 492.

40. Cf. "Une accusation ridicule", *Bulletin d'informations du Bureau ukrainien de presse*, Paris, 1919, n° 70, p. 3 ; "Les pogroms antijuifs en Ukraine. 1919, *Bulletin d'informations du Bureau ukrainien de presse*, Paris, 1919, n° 75, p.2-3 (this publication featured an open letter of the prominent Jewish writer from London – I. Zangwill – addressed to M. Tyshkevych (it partially attributed the responsibility for the anti-Jewish pogroms, "massacres" to the Ukrainian authorities) and "Le gouvernement Ukrainien contre les Pogromes Juifs en Ukraine", *Bulletin d'informations du Bureau ukrainien de presse*, Paris, 1919, n° 79, p. 2-3 (it featured the memoire, invitation letter of the head of the Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission of the UNR in the USA – E. Batchinsky addressed to the American public and more specifically American Jews willing to take part in the international Commission of the Jewish investigation upon the official request of the Ukrainian government in 1919).

41. See e. g. the interview of A. Margolin (the head of the special diplomatic mission of the UNR to the UK in 1919-1920, a survivor of the anti-Jewish pogrom in 1905): "Les Juifs en Ukraine: Interview du Dr Arnold Margoline, représentant de l'Ukraine à la Conférence de la Paix" (reprint of the interview from *The Jewish Chronicle*, London, 1919 May 16) 1919, n° 23; and "l'Ukraine et Juifs", 1919, n° 35 (reprint of his interview with the correspondent of the newspaper *Le Peuple Juif*) concerning the special autonomy granted for national minorities in Ukraine, specifically, Jews and his view on the anti-Jewish pogroms on the Ukrainian terrains (he attributed them to Bolsheviks in Ukraine who were intent so at discrediting the Ukrainian government before the Western public opinion).

anti-Jewish pogroms should be contextualized in historical circumstances of that period⁴² and considered in comparison with the statements of the opposite bodies⁴³.

To foster the idea of the Ukrainian statehood on ethnic territories of Ukrainians, an ethnographic map of Ukraine, in particular a period of the Ukrainian State (Pavlo Skoropadsky Hetmanate of 1918), was regularly published in the periodical.

Due to information overflow and a technical incapacity to publish operative reports, news items about the developments at the Paris Peace Conference 1919-1920 yrs, were not published on the pages of the main information “mouth-piece” print medium of the Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission of the UNR in Paris. Editorial office of the Ukrainian Press Bureau ventured to issue separate supplementary informational typewritten “newsletters”, which were reproduced on “Roneo” machine⁴⁴. The first (available) issue of this periodical appeared on the 25th of April 1919 and the last available (33rd) bears the date of the December 6 1919⁴⁵. The content (and format) of these communications effectively duplicated the content of *Bulletin d'informations*. However, a preference was given to news items and informational publications in general.

In the late 1919 the editorial staff of the periodical ‘declared that “our bulletin in its current form doesn’t conform any longer to the needs of time” and announced “expansion of program” of the Ukrainian Press Bureau and new priorities in its activity (e.g., publishing brochures)⁴⁶. Consequently, the periodical became inaccessible to a broad readership.

From 1920 the bulletin became typescript, and its content was published in two languages: Ukrainian and French. But the scope of its content, format and pagination of the second volume of the periodical varied greatly from 1919 – it was printed just on one or two pages and appeared at irregular intervals.

42. Given that the Ukrainian authorities (specifically, the Directorate of the UNR and its chief S. Petlura), its army didn’t control all the Ukrainian territory, in particular, those regions, where anti-Jewish pogroms were particularly rampant. See Smele J. Ibid.

43. Specifically, the statements of the Comité des délégations Juives and their respective publications at the Paris Peace Conference, e. g., *Bulletin du Comité des délégations juives auprès de la Conférence de la Paix* (Paris, 1919-1924). According to this body, Ukrainian central authorities (i.e., the Directorate of the UNR and its chief – S. Petlura) were responsible (and involved) for the atrocities, anti-Jewish pogroms on the Ukrainian territories of that time.

See more on this subject Cvengroš, *la République démocratique ukrainienne...*, p. 104-108.

44. *Bulletin d'informations du Bureau ukrainien de presse*, Paris, 1919, n° 76, p. 1.

45. These newsletters (communications) are available in the holding so the French libraries, but not reflected in their catalogues.

46. “Notre Bulletin...”, *Bulletin d'informations*, Paris, 1919, n° 91, p. 1.

A PHENOMENON OF THE UKRAINIAN RUSSOPHILE FRANCOPHONE PRESS IN FRANCE

A separate place in the Ukrainian francophone press' complex in France occupied the Ukrainian Russophile print organs. These were issued by various pro-Russian organizations of the Ukrainian émigrés in Paris during 1919-1921 yrs. These were the periodicals of Comité de Carpatho-Russes à Paris [the Committee of Carpatho-Russes in Paris] (*Les Russes des Carpathes*⁴⁷, Paris, 1919) and Comité National Ukrainien à Paris [The Ukrainian National Committee] (*Bulletin du Comité National Ukrainien à Paris*⁴⁸, 1920 and its successor – *La Jeune Ukraine*⁴⁹, Paris, 1920-1921). A common ideological denominator of orientation towards Russia, its territorial integrity and restoration of Russian Empire in its prewar borders, denial of the Ukrainian political separatism, the Ukrainian state (UNR) and sovereignty, found a logical representation in editorial policies of these periodicals. In general, information-propagandist campaign of the Committee of Carpatho-Russes and the Ukrainian National Committee in Paris provided additional counterarguments for the opponents of the international recognition of independence and state sovereignty of the UNR at the Paris Peace Conference 1919-1920 yrs. Moreover, they often replicated the theses, ideologemes of the newspaper *Obschee Dielo=La Cause Commune* concerning the Russian-Ukrainian relations in retrospective and perspective. Since the problem of the Ukrainian Russophile French-language press in Paris (1919-1921) was already studied in the Russian press history discourse, we'd like to draw attention of media history researchers and historians to this study⁵⁰.

***L'Europe Orientale* (Paris, 1919-1920): internationalization of the Ukrainian francophone press in France**

The next stage in the Ukrainian press publishing campaign in France was initiated with a launch of the socio-political review entitled *L'Europe Orientale* in French and in English (*The Eastern Europe*). This bi-monthly periodical was a print organ of the Committee of Independent Ukraine, headed by M. Hrushevsky⁵¹. The first issue (Vol. I, n° 1) of the magazine *L'Europe Orientale: pour la defense des Nouvelles Républiques d'Orient* appeared in September 1919, and

47. Availability: BDIC: 1919, n° 1-7.

48. Availability: Hoover Library: 1920, May 5, n° 2.

49. Availability: BnF: 1920, n° 1, 2, 3/4; 1921, n° 5; BDIC: n° 1, 2, 3/4; 1921, n° 5; BULAC: 1920, n° 1-3/4; 1921, n° 5; BUSP: 1921, n° 5.

50. Blavatskyu, "Украинская русофильская франкоязычная пресса Франции", *Вестник МГУ. Сер. Журналистика*, Moscow, 2014, n° 2, p. 88-96.

51. Cf. Zhukovsky, "Політична і публіцистична діяльність М. С. Грушевського на еміграції 1919-1924. рр.", *Український історичний журнал*, Kyiv, 2002, n° 1, p. 100-101, 103, 119-122 and A. M. Sadov, "Грушевський і Комітет Незалежної України за матеріалами родинного фонду Грушевських (ЦДІАК, Ф. 1235)", *Український археографічний щорічник*, Kyiv, 2006, n° 10/11, p. 698, 702-703, 707, 709-712, 722.

the last one (Vol. II, n° 9/10) was published on the 16th of January 1920⁵². Organizational assistance in publishing the review was provided by the Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission of the UNR and the Ukrainian National Council in Paris⁵³. Publication of the review was funded by two channels. First, there were donations of the Ukrainian patrons in the USA, in particular the Ukrainian National Committee in America⁵⁴. The second source was the subsidies of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the UNR⁵⁵.

The managing director was the French G. Hutin⁵⁶, and the editor-in-chief of the periodical was F. Y. Savchenko. De facto the editors of the publication were prominent Ukrainian scholars, historians, diplomats and politicians – D. Issaievych (whose articles were supposedly printed in the magazine under a cryptonym “XXX”) and M. Hrushevsky, who was its initiator and founder⁵⁷. The editorial committee of the magazine comprised both representatives of Ukraine: M. Hrushevsky, D. Issaievych, M. Lozynsky, F. (Th.) Savtchenko and other East European lands, in particular P. Tyrza (from Kuban).

Unlike a local character of the “Bulletin d’information”, a new periodical had an international appeal, nature and circulation. This was reflected in its French-English language policy (the magazine was issued, as we mentioned, in English and French separate print versions), editorial staff composition, content and target readership. The review was circulated and read abroad, in particular in Switzerland, the UK, the USA and Canada. The authorship of the publication consisted of representatives of the Ukrainian intellectuals (M. Hrushevsky, M. Kuchnir, D. Dontzow, A. Khomyk, M. Lozynsky). There were also foreign contributors, mainly the French intellectuals: P. Renaudel (the prominent French socialist), Jean Denier, C. Bouglé, professor G. Brocher, G. de Montbrand, A. Mecker and others. Such a synergetic collaboration of authors from different socio-cultural environments correlated with the editorial policy and was well reflected in the international appeal of the magazine. This was made intentionally – to secure an international support for the independence and the state sovereignty not only Ukraine (i.e. the UNR), but also other allogeneic (non-Russian, border countries) peoples of former Russian Empire: Belarus, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, the Republic of Kuban, the Republic of the North Caucasus, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia. The ultimate goal of such support was diplomatic recognition of Ukrainian and other East European states by the Allied Powers (Entente) during the Paris Peace Conference.

52. Availability in the holdings: BNF: 1919, Vol. I, n° 1-8; 1920, Vol. II, n° 9/10; BDIC: 1919, Vol. I, n° 1-8; 1920, Vol. II, n° 9/10; BULAC: 1919, Vol. I, n° 1-8; 1920, Vol. II, n° 9/10.

53. The French-Ukrainian NGO, which was founded in 1918 by F. Savchenko with encouragements of A. Thomas and E. Denis. Cf. Gasquet (de), « La France et les mouvements nationaux ukrainiens », p. 152 and Sadov, “Грушевський і Комітет...” p. 710.

54. “Поміч для праці проф. Грушевського в обороні України”, *Свобода*, JerseyCity, 1919, 89, p. 2.

55. Struk, *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Vol. 4, p. 214.

56. Presumably, he was engaged by the F. Savtchenko in 1918 during the formation of “Cercle d’études franco-ukrainiennes”.

57. Cvengroš, op. cit., p. 125 and Zhukovsky, op. cit., p. 119-120.

The aim of the review, as was declared in the editorial, was to fight against “pernicious ignorance” concerning East European countries. The editorial committee stated in its program editorial:

By means of these two editions, one in French, the other – in English, we will endeavour to explain the customs, the historic traditions, the genius, the aspirations, the institutions, the natural wealth of the countries and of the peoples, which were just born to liberty and who are still fighting amidst the greatest dangers.

The quintessence of the editorial policy was to attract the attention of “old West European democracies to the fight of young East European democracies” and to strengthen “the ties of fraternal solidarity which unites the peoples and ought to preside over their relations”⁵⁸.

In this context, it is interesting and worth drawing historical analogies between the editorial policy of this Ukrainian periodical and the bulletin published by the Bureau of Nationalities of Russia (1916-1917) in Bern⁵⁹. The congenial ideas of anti-imperialism, anti-colonial discourse and the right of allo-genian nations of the Russian Empire to self-determination thus transcended boundaries and time and affirmed a continuity of the editorial policies.

The editorial policy of the review unfolded in several key directions. The paramount issue was securing the support of the Allied Powers for nation-state aspirations of the “Allogenians”⁶⁰. A leitmotif of the publications of different authors was a justification of a right to self-determination and the principle of national statehood of former colonies of mainly Russian Empire⁶¹.

The French authors, contributors to the review⁶² promoted the idea of international recognition of the allogenian peoples, specifically in the socialist movement in France. For example, in the first issue of the review, P. Renaudel welcomed independence of the non-Russian nationalities on behalf of the International Social in Lucerne in August of 1919. Influenced by M. Hrushevsky and D. Issaievych, C. Bouglé published the opinion piece where he denounced the French socialist politicians (and their print organs – *L'Humanité* and *Le Populaire*). This press, in his opinion, was exclusively occupied by the issue of class struggle and neglected the national question abroad⁶³.

58. “Notre programme”, *L'Europe Orientale*, Paris, 1919, n° 1, p. 1-2.

59. This bulletin was edited by the prominent Ukrainian émigré D. Dontsov, *The Bulletin* appeared in three languages: in English – *Bulletin of Nationalities of Russia* (n° 1-22), in French – *Bulletin des nationalités de Russie* (n° 1-22) and in German – *Korrespondenz der Nationalitäten Russlands* (n° 1-22). Thus, it tailored to different target audiences in Western Europe.

60. Allogenian nations (or Allogenians) – the non-Russian, border nations of the Russian Empire.

61. XXX, “La libre disposition des peuples de l’Ukraine”, *L'Europe Orientale*, 1919, n°4, p. 103-107.

62. E.g., Jean Denier and C. Bouglé – the professors of the Sorbonne University engaged by M. Hrushevsky for the cooperation with the magazine in November 1919.

63. Bouglé, “Les Préfaces nécessaires”, *L'Europe Orientale*, Paris, 1919, n° 2, p. 2.

Several editorials endeavoured to demonstrate probable organisational models of a symbiosis of various East European nations. This synergetic cooperation was considered both upon democratic, confederative, and economic principles in the postwar perspective. The authors of the review and the editorial committee proposed holding an international conference concerning a reorganisation of the Eastern Europe after an achievement of durable and lasting peace in the East European region.

The right to national self-determination of the allogenic peoples of the Russian empire correlated with anti-imperialistic discourse of the review's authorship articles. A series of editorials denounced the Entente member states for their support of the "one and undivided Russia". Other articles heavily criticized the backing of the Voluntary Army, its leaders, in particular A. Denikin and A. Kolchak. Arms, munitions, medication and food embargo of the Eastern Europe was also questioned and denounced. In this context, the authors of the review criticized the Allied armed intervention in the internal political affairs of the Allogenic peoples. On top of that, they warned West European democracies from the restoration of the former Russian Empire either in the form of the "reactionary" and "counter-democratic" concepts of the "White Movement" Russia or Bolshevik Russia⁶⁴. M. Hrushevsky argued that a probable solution to the blockade and ongoing warfare in the Eastern Europe was international diplomacy, in particular under the auspices of the League of Nations⁶⁵.

Several authors of the publication made predictions regarding future geopolitical reconfiguration of Europe. In particular, they considered a probable German revanchism and the consequences of the future alliance of Russia and Germany for the Baltic nations.

A series of articles enlightened the Western public about the socio-cultural landscape and new geopolitical order in the territory of the ex-Russian Empire. They described the education system, culture and literature in the East European countries, in particular in Ukraine and Armenia.

Such juxtaposition of new non-Russian nation-states enabled to show a whole picture of the geopolitical situation in the East. They provided readership of the review with a better understanding of socio-political and socio-cultural "matrix" of the allogenic peoples.

Printing of a review was suspended due to financial difficulties. Another factor was a transfer of the Committee of Independent Ukraine from Paris to Prague in early 1920⁶⁶.

64. A. Khomik, In *Oriente lux, ex Oriente tenebrae*, *L'Europe Orientale*, 1919, n° 5, p. 142-147 and *Ibid.*, J. Denier, « La Russie, les Allogènes et l'Entente », *L'Europe Orientale*, 1919, p. 148-152.

65. M. Hrouchevski, « Qui pacifiera l'Europe Orientale ? », *L'Europe Orientale*, 1919, n° 7, p. 193-196.

66. Sadov, "Грушевський і Комітет...", p. 703; Zhukovsky, p. 103.

FRANCE-UKRAINE (PARIS, 1920): THE FIRST UKRAINIAN
FRANCOPHONE NEWSPAPER IN FRANCE

The last Ukrainian (and *Ukrainian-centric*) French-language publication of France during the period of national liberation movement was broadsheet weekly socio-political newspaper *France et Ukraine*. The first issue of the periodical (Vol. I, n° 1) appeared on the 9th of January of 1920, and the last number (Vol. I, n° 14) came out on May 7 1920⁶⁷.

This newspaper was initiated by the “Cercle d’études franco-ukrainiennes”⁶⁸ and the Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission of the UNR in France⁶⁹. The funding of the newspaper was realised mainly through subsidies of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Directorate of UNR⁷⁰.

The editor-in-chief of the weekly was F. Savtchenko and the managing editors of the periodical were the French pressmen: M. Houtain, E. Houtain and H. Bontoux.

The newspaper’s editorial office of the newspaper was located at the address: 11, Rue Bassano, Paris (XVI^e). In this context, it’s worth noting that the same premises shared the editorial offices of *Bulletin d’informations du Bureau Ukrainien de Presse*, *L’Europe Orientale* and the Ukrainian-language weekly typewritten bulletin *Ukrayinska Respublika* [“The Ukrainian Republic” (Paris – Fontainebleau, 1919-1922)]. The circulation of the newspaper varied at times and reached up to 8 000 copies⁷¹.

France et Ukraine differed from its predecessors in several aspects. First, it resembled the contemporary Parisian quality press by following their format, layout, design and journalistic practices. It published in-depth analysis, employed a similar genre palette, “modus operandi”. The other novelty, which distinguished *France et Ukraine* in the Ukrainian press publishing campaign in France, was an extensive usage of visualisation techniques. Specifically, there were illustrations, photos, ethnographical and topographical maps of the military operations in Ukraine of 1920. The aim of such a visualisation was a persuasive communication. That was a way of underpinning and arguing ideologemes, theses about the Ukrainian history, political and state-building processes in retrospective and mainly the Ukrainian national liberation movement period. In this context, we note such specific aspect in the visualisation of this newspaper as accentuation on personal dimension – i.e., personalization of political, historical, literary and art discourses. E. g. on the pages of the weekly the photos

67. Availability: BDIC: 1920, vol. I, n° 1-14; BnF: 1920, vol. I, n° 1-14; BULAC: 1920, n° 1, 3-13.

68. The Circle for the French-Ukrainian Studies was founded in July 1918 by F. Savchenko – Cf. S. de Gasquet, « La France et les mouvements nationaux ukrainiens », p. 152.

69. It benefited from the personal assistance of the head of the Mission – the count M. Tyshkevych (M. Tyszkiewicz), who was its director in 1920.

70. Struk, *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Vol. IV, p. 214.

71. Narizhnyi, p. 115.

of the Ukrainian writers T. Shevchenko, M. Kotsiubynsky and prominent French and Ukrainian politicians, statesmen – S. Petlioura and the French statesman, parliamentarian Gaillard-Bancel were presented.

Unlike a local character of the *Bulletin d'Informations* and the international appeal of the *L'Europe Orientale, France et Ukraine* had a national dimension. The editorial committee of the publication comprised both representatives of the French and the Ukrainian sides, what affirmed a dual, synergetic nature of the new periodical. The heterogeneous authorship of the newspaper comprised, on the Ukrainian side, – F. (Th.) Savtchenko, M. Kouchnire, V. Tymoshenko, A. Serbinenko, I. Borschak, N. Loutchynsky (the correspondent of the newspaper in Rome), S. Petlioura, Dr D. Dontsov, Michel Rudnitsky, S. Cheloukhine, K. Vychevitch, B. Boutenko, A. Loukachevitch and on the French side – Georges Bienaimé, Roland Derbly, H. de Harzy, A. de Gobart, Géo Gérald (the French MP), and Armand Sylvestre. One of the main novelties of the authorship of the new publication was that several French professional journalists collaborated regularly with the newspaper⁷². These were Charles Dubreuil⁷³, Helie d'Arnaval, Francois Tessier and Philippe de Caldilhé.

The paramount aim of the newspaper's editorial policy was formulated as:

The publication of this newspaper is set particularly to popularize the knowledge of democratic Ukraine in France, its claims and to create between the first of the republics and the youngest one among them, political and economical relations as intimate as fruitful for two parties...

“Encouragements”, *France et Ukraine*, Paris, 1920, n° 3, p. 2.

The quintessence of the editorial policy correlated with its press predecessors – “Bulletin d'informations du Bureau ukrainien de presse à Paris” and *L'Europe Orientale* – to justify a claim for the right of Ukrainians to a national self-determination, statehood and international recognition of the Ukrainian independence, in particular by the French authorities at the Paris Peace Conference. The main ideologèmes, theses of the newspaper's concept were a rapprochement between France and Ukraine; a formation of close, stable and long-lasting alliance between both states.

But the main arguments employed for justifying the “raison d'être” and propaganda thesis, as S. de Gasquet first noted, were different ones. The first one was a sanitary cordon against the spread of Bolshevism westwards in Europe. And the second argument lied in an economic reconstruction of France⁷⁴.

In the regard of first argument the article of Ph. de Caldilhé is significant and worth citing here:

72. Gasquet (de), *la France et les mouvements nationaux ukrainiens (1917-1927)*..., p. 127

73. Charles Dubreuil was the former teacher of French at Kyiv schools during 1917-1919 yrs, the author of the memoir book *Deux années en Ukraine (1917-1919)*, Paris, H. Paulin, 1919.

74. Ibid.

Instead of chasing the illusion of an impossible restoration of ancient Russia, isn't it more convenient to reassure the power of Romanian and Polish allies by letting to create and develop an independent Ukraine as a sincere friend of its immediate neighbors? This is the idea that we want to defend in this journal. Ukraine, like Poland, could be a reliable and convenient ally for France⁷⁵.

Several other articles of mainly French authors (e. g., F. Tessier, R. Derbly, F. Forestier) explicated a necessity of construction of sanitary cordon in the form of a military and political alliance of Poland, Romania and Ukraine against the spread of Bolshevism towards Western Europe. F. Forestier and F. Tessier argued that a sanitary frontier against spread of Bolshevism westwards was also necessary to inhibit the future alliance between Germany and Russia in "the junction of Russian and German imperialism"⁷⁶.

A leitmotif of the analytical articles of the different journalists was a justification of the economic benefits for France from the diplomatic recognition de jure of the UNR's independence. In this context, it's interesting that the French authors of the newspaper proposed new infrastructure projects for boosting trade relations between France and Ukraine, e.g., constructing a new railway line between Odessa and Bordeaux⁷⁷. On top of that, an auxiliary argument of the engagement of the Ukrainian government to pay off its part (30 %) of the French debt of the former Russian Empire was also employed to underpin the *idée fixe* of the recognition of the Ukrainian independence by France⁷⁸.

Of a significant relevance in the editorial agenda of the *France et Ukraine*, as in the other Ukrainian French-language publications in France of that time, was a discourse of safeguarding civil and political rights of the national minorities in Ukraine, in particular, the Ukrainian Jews⁷⁹. This was made intentionally – in order that to gain and secure positive public reaction of the West European public opinion and demonstrate, portray the UNR and its leadership as democratic, liberal, tolerant and pro-European. In F.-A. Forestier's opinion, a probable solution to the problem of the Jewish pogroms in the Ukrainian territories correlated with the international recognition of the UNR, its state sovereignty and, consequently, the restoration of law, discipline and order on all its territories⁸⁰. Thus a specific correlation between the international recognition of the independence of Ukraine (the UNR) and safeguarding the rights of national minorities has been accentuated and further explicated in the newspaper's editorial policy.

75. Ph. Caldilhe (de), « Pourquoi l'Ukraine est antibolchevique », *France et Ukraine*, Paris, 1920, n° 2, p. 1; M. Kouchnir, « L'alliée naturelle de la France », *France et Ukraine*, Paris, 1920, n° 4, p. 2.

76. F. Tessier, « Le coup d'État Prussien », *France et Ukraine*, Paris, 1920, n° 11, p. 1; F. Forestier, « La tactique moscovite », *France et Ukraine*, Paris, 1920, n° 11, p. 2.

77. G. Gérard, « De Bordeaux à Odessa », *France et Ukraine*, Paris, 1920, n° 8, p. 1.

78. « Soutenir l'Ukraine – c'est donc contribuer au relèvement de la France », *France et Ukraine*, Paris, 1920, n° 10, p. 4.

79. H. Arnaval (de), « Les droits des minorités en Ukraine », *France et Ukraine*, Paris, 1920, n° 5, p. 1.

80. F.-A. Forestier, « Les pogroms antijuifs L'Ukraine n'est pas responsable », *France et Ukraine*, Paris, 1920, n° 7, p. 1.

One of the main directions in the newspaper's content, which corresponded to its aim and objectives, was popularisation on its pages the Ukrainian cause. This was realised by the agency of a multi-aspect discourse. A series of informative articles attempted to enlighten and familiarise the French public about the national identity of Ukrainians and their nation-state aspirations, history of their national liberation movement and political traditions. There were also regularly publications about the Ukrainian culture (in particular, concert tours of the Ukrainian Republican Kapelle of O. Koshyts and K. Stetsenko in Europe, in particular in France), folklore and art. Additionally, the newspaper ran features about ethnography, national symbols, public system of education and last, but not least, the Ukrainian armed forces⁸¹. Such a comparative perspective was made, on the one hand, to popularize the knowledge about Ukrainians in the France, and, on the other – to show the European legacy of Ukraine, in particular, the French-Ukrainian ties in retrospective. In this context, the editorial staff of the newspaper endeavoured to expose and denounce the theses of Russian historiography regarding the Ukrainian history and in particular myths about the belonging of the heritage of Kyiv Rus⁸². In this context, the authors emphasized a socio-cultural and civilisation differences between two peoples⁸³.

The authors of the newspaper, in particular, E. Borschak evoked memories and made relevant the liberal and democratic precursors of the League of Nations in the Ukrainian socio-political heritage. E.g., they analysed the activities, program and ideologemes of the Cyril and Methodius Society (The Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius in Kiev, 1845-1847)⁸⁴. In the context of this and other publications, it's interesting to state that authors of the weekly frequently made allusions of the Great French Revolution motto – “Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité”. Thus they accentuated on the legacy of the French ideas in the Ukrainian socio-political discourse.

Of a particular importance in the content of the newspaper was a popularisation of classics of the Ukrainian literature in the European literary discourse. E.g., several publications in literary criticism about the Ukrainian literature, writers and poets were published in the weekly. Besides, here a number of prosaic and poetic writings of the Ukrainian writers in the translation of the French interpreters were presented, e.g. a novel “Serp” of M. Yatzkiw – in the translation of the French L. Galafrey⁸⁵ and verses of T. Shevchenko: “Vechir” and “Ya ne zabudu” – in the translation of the French poet, translator F. Mazad⁸⁶.

81. Borschak, « L'armée Ukrainienne », *France et Ukraine*, Paris, 1920, n° 1, 2, 5-7.

82. « Une Sophistication de l'Histoire », *France et Ukraine*, Paris, 1920, n° 8, p. 2.

83. M. T. [Michel Tyshkevych] « Ukraine et Moscovie : deux peuples, deux civilisations », *France et Ukraine*, Paris, 1920, n° 8, p. 4.

84. Borschak, « Les précurseurs ukrainiens de la Société des Nations », *France et Ukraine*, Paris, 1920, n° 9, p. 1-2.

85. M. Yatzkiw, « La faucille », *France et Ukraine*, Paris, 1920, n° 4, p. 2.

86. « Le soir », « Je n'oublierai pas », *France et Ukraine*, Paris, 1920, n° 9, p. 2.

It's worth noting that the Ukrainian authors frequently accentuated upon parallels between the Ukrainian and West European literary discourses. In particular, they drew analogies between the Ukrainian and French literary methods, directions, traits, motifs and plots⁸⁷.

A suspension of the publication of *France et Ukraine* was caused mainly by financial reasons due to the deficit of the Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission of the UNR in France in 1920. And the pause between the publication of the 13th issue (April 2) and appearance of the last 14th number (May 7) (abnormal for the weekly) attests to that version⁸⁸.

Although *France et Ukraine* disappeared, its idée fixe of the participation of Ukraine in the "sanitary frontier", as S. de Gasquet noted⁸⁹, survived the newspaper. It found its continuation and evolution in the editorial policies of the French-Ukrainian bilingual newspapers in Austria – *Ukrayina=L'Ukraine* (Vienna, 1920-1921), *Krestianskaya Ukrayina=L'Ukraine des Paysans* (Vienna, 1924-1926) in 1920s and in the French-language press of the Promethean movement: *La Prométhée* (Paris, 1926-1936) and *La Revue de Prométhée* (Paris, 1938-1940)⁹⁰.

CONCLUSIONS

Our study of the Ukrainian French-language press in France during 1919-1921 yrs can be summarized as follows. First of all, the French-language and Ukrainian-language print media in France were a unique and unprecedented socio-cultural phenomenon in the evolution of the Ukrainian press. It was also a milestone in the transformation, diversification, internationalisation and subsequent integration of the latter into the European information and communication space in retrospective.

The development of the Ukrainian French-language press in France during the studied period has been characterized by fluctuations, modifications and ideological-political differentiation. This dialectic was well reflected in three principal points of bifurcation. All studied socio-political publications can be classified according to their ideological direction into three types: the Ukrainian-centric press (*Bulletin d'Informations, France et Ukraine*), the Ukrainian Rusophile periodicals (*Bulletin du Comité carpatho-russe de Paris*, Paris, 1919), *Bulletin du Comité National de l'Ukraine*, *La Jeune Ukraine* and the Ukrainian the print media of international appeal (*L'Europe Orientale*). This typological "triad" was characteristic for all the Ukrainian francophone periodicals of the interwar epoch (1918-1939) in France.

87. Mykhailo Kotsiubinsky, *France et Ukraine*, Paris, 1920, n° 6, p. 1; M. Roudnitsky, « Un anniversaire », *France et Ukraine*, Paris, 1920, n° 9, p. 1; « L'hétman Mazepa et la littérature française », *France et Ukraine*, Paris, 1920, n° 12, p. 2.

88. Gasquet (de), *la France et les mouvements nationaux ukrainiens (1917-1927)*..., p.128.

89. Ibid.

90. Zhukovsky, "Promethean movement", *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Vol. IV, p. 238.

This cluster of the Ukrainian press in West European languages had an ambivalent, “hybrid” character. This ambivalence of these print media was well reflected in its functional heterogeneity. They fulfilled different functions: informational, propagandist (shaping public opinion), counter-propagandist, communicative (i.e. a transnational communication between the Frenchmen and Ukrainians) and socio-cultural.

The synergetic nature of the Ukrainian Press Bureau staff composition, *L'Europe Orientale* and *France et Ukraine* produced mutually beneficiary and collaborative journalistic culture of diverse national, professional and socio-cultural backgrounds. This cooperation balanced the information-propagandist activities of the Russian and Polish émigré lobbies in Paris, as well as the Ukrainian Russophile French-language press. It was also instrumental in influencing French “opinion leaders” regarding the Ukrainian cause. This cooperation also resulted in introducing the Ukrainian question, problems into the public sphere, specifically, the French media discourse. It increased the awareness of the French public concerning Ukraine. Finally, it popularized the Ukrainian topics and the French-Ukrainian ties in France.

A follow-up study will conduct a long-term content analysis of the content of the Ukrainian French-language press in France during the interwar period. Another avenue of future research is to study the French-Ukrainian bilingual press in Austria as well as a comparative analysis of the French press in Ukraine (in particular, those published in Odessa and Kyiv in the 19-20 cc.).

A comprehensive research of these media sources will be beneficial for the Ukrainian-French relations in many aspects. First of all, it will facilitate deepening and broaden transnational cooperation and communication between Ukraine and France in various areas in the perspective of XXI century. Second, it will help Ukraine to develop optimal models of the information-propagandist and mainly counter-propagandist policies abroad, in particular in Europe. Last, but not least, it will accelerate integration of Ukraine into European information and communicative space.